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SUBJECT Moscow Directives for the SED's (Socialist
Unity Party) Fourth Party Congress .

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1. The Fourth Congress of the SED (Socialist Unity Party) has now definitely been called for 30 Mar 54, and will mark the stabilization of Ulbricht's position vis-a-vis Semenov. This trend was foreshadowed by the expulsion of Wilhelm Zaisser and Rudolf Herrnstadt on the eve of the Berlin Conference, as a clear warning to the opposition inside the SED that Moscow has decided against any substantial change in the SED's leadership.
2. The Party Congress was discussed between Molotov and Ulbricht during the Berlin Conference. The line to be taken at this Congress will reaffirm as the major goal of the SED the peaceful unification of Germany, but a substantial modification of the previous line will also be presented. Ulbricht and the SED leaders will speak again, after a period of relative moderation, in the name of all Germany. They will characterize Adenauer's government as the successor to the Nazis of 1945 and as the predecessor of the Nazis of 1956. Considerable material to prove the nazification of the Adenauer government is being collected in Berlin in SED headquarters. Some of it has already been publicized throughout Europe, but much more is still to come. The information services of the SED are now working full time on this matter.
3. The SED has lately been able to win a small group of West Germans for their propaganda campaign. As insignificant as this group may appear, the extent to which their work in the SED propaganda apparatus contributes to the demoralization of the East German population should not be underestimated. A representation of these West German followers of the SED is expected to appear on the platform at the Party Congress. Delegations from other parties, especially the French and possibly the Chinese, are expected to depict Ulbricht and his group as the only anti-Nazi German Government, and to offer him and his team to all the European anti-Nazis as the only alternative to the American-West German pro-Nazi outfit.

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4. Field Marshal Von Paulus and his military associates will not appear before the Party Congress, except perhaps that they may send a letter of sympathy to the Congress. This military group will remain for the time being in the background, to be used in a later phase of the political mobilization against EDC (European Defense Community). The SED Central Committee has been instructed by Molotov not only to build bridges toward West Germany, but to associate themselves with all the anti-West German organizations and associations throughout West Europe.
5. Another important aim of the forthcoming SED Congress will be its effort to disillusion and disintegrate the SPD (Social Democratic Party) in West Germany. Ollenhauer's and Heine's assertions that Moscow is eager to sacrifice the Ulbricht team in exchange for the non-militarization of West Germany is ridiculed in Berlin party headquarters as another of the futile Social Democratic illusions. Molotov has agreed to make it quite clear at the Congress that Moscow does not intend, under any circumstances, to sacrifice the "Pankow regime" to the Social Democratic Parteivorstand. On the other hand, the Ulbricht team is instructed to observe moderation in its attitude towards the SPD and to offer and reoffer a "united front" against the Nazis. Infiltration of the West German SPD locals is emphasized as an important item on the party's activity list.
6. The internal party opposition (Zaisser, Herxstadt, and Company), who halfheartedly had hoped for a compromise with West Germany before the Berlin Conference, is now entirely discouraged. The old-timers Franz Dahlem, Gerhart Eisler, etc. know that they have definitely lost out; they seek their personal salvation in complete subordination to the Ulbricht group.
7. In case of serious trouble this spring, the SED would face that situation more united than on 17 Jun 53, because the Berlin Conference has proved that no compromise on the unification of Germany is possible for a long period to come.

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